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Drafted: EUR/ SOV:MParris

Clearance: PM:TMcNamara
L:LStorch
INR:IKulski
INR:DHowell
EUR:RLBarry
S/S:JBremer

SECRET - XGDS-3UNITED STATES-SOVIET UNDERSTANDINGS CONCERNING THE PRESENCE
OF OFFENSIVE WEAPONS IN CUBASummary

The United States and the Soviet Union both recognize that an understanding on this subject exists, which is reflected in the Kennedy-Khrushchev correspondence of October 27 and 28, 1962 and communications between the two governments in the Fall of 1970 of Soviet naval bases in Cuba.

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Both the United States and the Soviet Union consider that they are acting in accordance with the understanding expressed in President Kennedy's letter to Premier Khrushchev of October 27, 1962 and Khrushchev's reply of October 28. The United States further refers to President Kennedy's press statement of November 20, 1962 as an authoritative statement of the United States-Soviet understanding arising out of the missile crisis. President Kennedy's letter of October 27 asks the Soviets to cease work on all offensive missile bases and to render inoperable "all weapons systems in Cuba capable of offensive uses." The President further proposes that the Soviets agree to remove these weapons systems and "undertake, with suitable safeguards, to halt the further introduction of such weapons systems into Cuba." Khrushchev's reply of October 28 states that the Soviet government has "given a new order to dismantle the arms which you described as offensive" and to return them to the Soviet Union.

President Kennedy's address to the nation on October 22, and the Proclamation of quarantine issued on October 23. The address refers to "offensive missile sites" intended to provide "a nuclear strike capability against the Western Hemisphere" and "jet bombers, capable of carrying nuclear weapons." It further states that the presence of these "large, long-range, and clearly offensive weapons of sudden mass destruction" constitute a threat to the peace and security of the Americas.

The Proclamation declares to be prohibited materiel:

"Surface-to-surface missiles; bomber aircraft; bombs, air-to-surface rockets and guided missiles; warheads for any of the above weapons; mechanical or electronic equipment to support or operate the above items;"...

On November 2, Ambassador Stevenson gave Mikoyan a list of weapons deemed offensive by the United States in accordance with the exchange of letters. **B-1**

President Kennedy announced that agreement and the lifting of the quarantine that same day. The President's statement recapitulates the understanding as follows: **B-1**

"Chairman Khrushchev ... agreed to remove from Cuba all weapons systems capable of offensive use, to halt the further introduction of such weapons into Cuba...."

"In addition, the Soviet government has stated

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that all nuclear weapons have been withdrawn from Cuba and no offensive weapons will be reintroduced."

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The 1962 understanding was discussed again in August 1970, [

On August 7, Dr. Kissinger replied orally on behalf of President Nixon, "that the United States noted with satisfaction the Soviet assurance that the 1962 understanding was still in force. The United States took this to mean that the Soviet Union would not emplace any nuclear weapons or any offensive weapons of any kind in Cuba."

In September, [

construction of a naval support facility at Cienfuegos, which appeared to be a support facility for nuclear submarines. Dr. Kissinger made a statement on September 25, noting that, "We would view the establishment of a strategic base in the Caribbean with the utmost seriousness." He called attention to President Kennedy's statement of November 20, 1962, that, "if all offensive weapons are removed from Cuba and kept out of the Hemisphere in the future... there will be peace in the Caribbean."

A Soviet Note of October 6, 1970, reaffirms, "that in the Cuban question, the Soviet government continues to proceed from the understanding reached on this question in 1962;" [

[the United States gave the Soviets a Note on October 9, stating the United States understanding that: "The USSR will not establish, utilize, or permit the establishment of any facility in Cuba that can be employed to support or repair Soviet naval ships capable of carrying offensive weapons; i.e., submarines or surface ships armed with nuclear-capable, surface-to-surface missiles." On October 23, [tell Dr. Kissinger that the USSR does not have a military naval facility in Cuba. The USSR will abide by our understanding of 1962. "We are also making the exchanges from

August onward part of the understanding of 1962." **I**

I On the other hand, the Soviet Union understood what the United States considered a naval base and would take it into serious consideration.

I On December 21, 1970, the President's Press Secretary, Ron Ziegler, declared that the understanding barred "the establishment of offensive bases, submarine based in and around Cuba." On January 4, 1971, President Nixon said on television, "In the event that nuclear submarines were services either in Cuba or from Cuba, that would be a violation of the understanding."

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Abstract of Key Passages

Address by President Kennedy, October 22, 1962 (UNCLASSIFIED)

The characteristics of these new missile sites indicate two distinct types of installations. Several of them include medium-range ballistic missiles capable of carrying a nuclear warhead for a distance of more than 1,000 nautical miles.

Additional sites not yet completed appear to be designed for intermediate-range ballistic missiles capable of traveling more than twice as far...

In addition, jet bombers, capable of carrying nuclear weapons, are now being uncrated and assembled in Cuba, while the necessary air bases are being prepared.

U. S. Proclamation on Interdiction of Offensive Weapons, October 23, 1962 (UNCLASSIFIED)

For the purposes of this Proclamation the following are declared to be prohibited material:

Surface-to-surface missiles; bomber aircraft, bombs, air-to-surface rockets and guided missiles; warheads for any of the above weapons; mechanical or electronic equipment to support or operate the above items; and any other classes of material hereafter designated by the Secretary of Defense for the purpose of effectuating this Proclamation.

Letter from Khrushchev to Kennedy, October 26, 1962 (UNCLASSIFIED)

"I propose: We, for our part, will declare that our ships, bound for Cuba, will not carry any kind of armaments. You would declare that the United States will not invade Cuba with its forces and will not support any sort of forces which might intend to carry out an invasion of Cuba. Then the necessity for the presence of our military specialists in Cuba would disappear."

Letter from Khrushchev to Kennedy, October
1962 (UNCLASSIFIED)

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"We agree to remove those weapons from Cuba which you regard as offensive weapons. U. S. will evacuate its analogous weapons from Turkey. Soviet Government [will] respect the integrity of... Turkey..."

"The U. S. Government will make the same statement in the Security Council with regard to Cuba."

Letter from Kennedy to Khrushchev, October 27, 1962
(in Response to Khrushchev's Letter of October 26)
(UNCLASSIFIED)

"The first thing that needs to be done, however, is for work to cease on offensive missile bases in Cuba and for all weapons systems in Cuba capable of offensive use to be rendered inoperable."

Letter from Khrushchev to Kennedy, October 28, 1962
(in Response to Kennedy's Letter of October 27) (UNCLASSIFIED)

"The Soviet Government...has given a new order to dismantle the arms which you described as offensive and to crate and return them to the Soviet Union."

Enclosure to Letter from Stevenson to Mikoyan, November 2,
1962 (SECRET)

"List of weapons deemed offensive by the U. S. in accordance with exchange of letters between President Kennedy and Chairman Khrushchev:

"1. Surface-to-surface missiles including those designed for use at sea and including propellents and chemical compounds capable of being used to power missiles.

"2. Bomber aircraft.

"3. Bombs, air-to-surface rockets and guided missiles.

"4. Warheads for any of the above weapons.

"5. Mechanical or electronic equipment to support or operate the above items such as communications, supply and missile launching equipment including KOMAR Class motor torpedo boats."

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Statement by President Kennedy on Cuba at Press
Conference. November 20, 1962 (UNCLASSIFIED)

I have today been informed by Chairman Khrushchev that all of the IL-28 bombers now in Cuba will be withdrawn in thirty days.

...understandings between Soviet Chairman Khrushchev and myself as set forth in our letters of October 27 and 28.

The evidence to date indicates that all known offensive missile sites in Cuba have been dismantled.

In addition the Soviet Government has stated that all nuclear weapons have been withdrawn from Cuba and no offensive weapons will be reintroduced.

LIST OF DOCUMENTS

- A. Kennedy Radio-TV Address, October 22, 1962
- B. Kennedy Proclamation, "Interdiction of the Delivery of Offensive Weapons to Cuba", October 23, 1962
- C. Khrushchev to Kennedy, October 26, 1962
- D. Khrushchev to Kennedy, October 27, 1962
- E. Kennedy to Khrushchev, October 27, 1962
- F. Khrushchev to Kennedy, October 28, 1962
- G. Stevenson to Mikoyan, re: List of Offensive Weapons, November 2, 1962

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- N. Press Conference, Statement by Kennedy on Cuba, November 20, 1962
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O. Kennedy to Khrushchev, December 14, 1962

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P. Assistant Secretary Abshire to Senator Fullbright,
March 1, 1971

Q. "US-USSR Understanding on Submarine Base in Cuba, 1970"